

Attacking the Racial Isolation of the Underclass: Explanations and Strategies for a New Era

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Twenty-five years after the Kerner Commission issued its report on urban poverty and civil disorders, urban African-American communities face a situation that has grown steadily worse.¹ The most blatant legal obstacles to African-Americans have been struck down, but societal discrimination and economic inequality still prevent many blacks from enjoying a status that is truly equal. As the nation's population has become more urban, the populations of the central cities have become disproportionately African-American, Hispanic, and Asian.² Poverty in America has decreased in non-metropolitan areas while growing rapidly in the central cities.³ The impact of this increase has fallen most heavily on residents of the 'ghetto neighborhoods'⁴ described by the Kerner Commission, sixty-five percent of whom are African-Americans.⁵ The number of poor persons living in ghetto neighborhoods increased by 30 percent between 1970 and 1980, at which time almost a third of all metropolitan blacks lived in a ghetto.⁶

Recent studies have suggested that a fundamental change in the nature of urban poverty has accompanied its statistical increase. These studies point to the existence of a new sociological group: the 'urban underclass.' While there is no firm consensus over how the underclass differs from what used to be known as the lower class, there is general agreement that the underclass is characterized by high levels of joblessness, illit-

eracy, violence, despair, and a growing economic, spatial, and cultural isolation from "mainstream" America.⁷

Disagreement abounds over the cause or causes of the social problems faced by the black urban underclass. The post-industrial transformation of the American economy, the so-called 'culture of poverty,' contemporary racism, the legacy of slavery and the sharecropper system, the failure of Great Society social programs: all have been cited as factors that created and nourished the burgeoning underclass.⁸ These factors, and the poverty and isolation faced by urban African-Americans, should be seen not as fundamental causes in and of themselves, but as effects necessarily resulting from the inherent structure of American society at this time.

One way to understand these effects is through the perspective of a distinguished urban philosopher, Lewis Mumford, who devoted much of his life to putting the problems of the city into a historical and cultural context. Mumford's theory was that societies can be described by their affinity for either of two opposing principles: the Organic and the Mechanic. As a result of the essentially mechanic culture of the United States, as described by Mumford, these problems may be alleviated by substantive changes in the way Americans view their lives and relationships, especially relationships across and within racial lines. That these changes have already begun is illustrated by the resurgence of organic themes in the postmodern and multicultural movements.

These changes in the culture of America provide an opportunity to reevaluate the goals and methods of urban reform. New policies are needed which will attack both the poverty of the underclass and its social and spatial isolation.

An understanding of the causes of these social problems does not necessarily imply a solution; however, a

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greater comprehension of the new era into which America is moving suggests new ways to attack its urban crises.

A New Model of Causation

Previously, attempts to remedy the lot of the urban underclass have been premised on a causal relationship between economic and social factors. The economic factors, such as unemployment, low wages, and the spatial mismatch between employment and population, have been seen as the cause of social problems, such as crime, welfare dependency, family neglect, drug abuse, and homelessness.⁹ Because of this apparent causal relationship, recent remedial proposals have focused on the importance of economic remedies: job creation, economic renewal, and skills training, for example.¹⁰ When the urban poor have jobs and decent wages, so the argument goes, the social problems will decrease.¹¹

Both common sense and empirical evidence support the truth of this proposition.¹² However, there is growing recognition that the social problems engendered by living in impoverished neighborhoods are not just a secondary effect--they have become a major cause of joblessness and economic dislocation. Studies have demonstrated, for instance, that residence in ghetto neighborhoods tends to affect economic opportunities directly, through employer hiring decisions, and indirectly, through contributory factors like educational choices and teen pregnancy rates.¹³

The negative effects of ghetto life are concentrated by its growing social and spatial isolation. This isolation is aggravated by the impact of exogenous economic and social factors like the suburbanization of employment, the outmigration of middle- and working-class blacks, and continuing "white flight" from the cities.¹⁴

Given the interrelationship of the economic and social factors, the model positing an economic cause with social effects may no longer be useful. Rather, these economic and social problems should be seen as coequal causes of the growth of the underclass and as necessary results of what Lewis Mumford termed the "mechanic" nature of American society.

Mechanics and Organics: The Theories of Lewis Mumford

Lewis Mumford, who died in 1990 at the age of ninety-four, was the author of numerous books and articles on topics ranging from art and literature to urbanism and technology; the best known among them are probably *The Culture of Cities* (1938), on urban development, and three on the subject of technology and culture, *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and the two-volume *The Myth of the Machine* (1967).

Throughout his diverse body of work one finds a single premise: that human society is shaped by the opposition of two fundamental principles, the Organic

and the Mechanic.¹⁵ (Mumford derived his concept of that opposition from the works of many of the writers he admired, including Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, Spengler, and others.¹⁶) The Mechanic principle represents uniformity, standardization, replaceability, regulation, and freedom from the imposition of human values -- the basic principles of the modernist movement. In contrast, those concepts falling under the Organic are individuality, subjectivity, the inclusion of value with fact, "the warm life of private sensations and private feelings and private perceptions"¹⁷ -- many of the same ideas currently enjoying a resurgence as postmodernism. Mumford thought that the best society is one that balances the two, but he saw the Mechanic as ascendant in Europe and America from the time of the Industrial Revolution. (Mumford found evidence of this growing imbalance in matters such as the regularization of time, the increase in mechanical power, the multiplication of goods, the contraction of time and space through high-speed transportation, the standardization of performance and product, the transfer of skill to automata, and the increase in collective interdependence.¹⁸) While a firm believer in the value of true scientific progress, Mumford felt that the decline in organic principles and the rise in mechanic ones was reaching dangerous levels in contemporary America, and that this imbalance in values was driving the nation towards social collapse and military Armageddon.¹⁹

It was in *The Myth of the Machine I* that he developed the concept of the Megamachine. Mumford's theory was that cultures could become so "over-mechanized" as to become, in effect, a vast machine--"a system made up of interchangeable parts, inanimate and animate, human, mechanical, and institutional, centrally organized and controlled".²⁰

"If a machine be defined. . . as a combination of resistant parts, each specialized in function, operating under human control, to utilize energy and to perform work, then [the pyramid culture of ancient Egypt] was in every aspect a genuine machine: all the more because its components, though made of human bone, nerve, and muscle, were reduced to their bare mechanical elements and rigidly standardized for the performance of their limited tasks."²¹

In such a "Megamachine culture," the role of its parts (the members of society) becomes subservient to the function of the whole, much like a cog in a machine, "a standardized servo-mechanism, a left-over part from a more organic world."²² The megamachine culture, according to Mumford, is characterized by a vast bureaucracy, an increasingly specialized labor force, the proliferation of "compensatory functions" like mass spectator sports, and separation between the workers and those

who live in idleness on the surplus extracted from the worker, devoting their lives to the elaborate "performance of leisure" and to the control of the wealth-producing megamachine.²³ The existence of such a culture was to Mumford a sign of Mechanic values gone out-of-control, of a society whose members focus their energies on performance, production, and the acquisition of material wealth, to the detriment of their own "inner" lives.

In such a culture, its members would be valued according to the value of their contribution and their performance, as assessed by external indicators like wealth, power, and position. Valuation of a specific individual would largely depend on the position of that individual in the social and programmatic hierarchy. The individual at the bottom of the hierarchy is the one who is poor, powerless, and without a job. Contributing nothing to the common economic life, he is isolated from the productive classes and relegated to the margins of society.

The Marginalization of the Underclass

That is essentially what has happened to the black urban underclass, according to the Kerner Commission Report and to contemporary analysts. The Kerner Commission wrote of African-Americans in the ghetto being denied access to "the two basic aspirations of our society," those being "the material resources of our system and its intangible benefits--dignity, respect, and acceptance."²⁴ Wilson sees an underclass whose primary predicament is unemployment "reinforced by growing social isolation."²⁵ Discussions of the underclass invariably refer to it as marginal, isolated, or separated from mainstream America.²⁶

Plagued by unemployment and poverty, members of the underclass are denied not only material success but the benefits that accrue to it, such as dignity, respect, and participation in the mainstream of society. The marginalization of black members of the underclass is exacerbated by the legacy of racial segregation and discrimination.²⁷

This marginalization, in turn, compounds itself--it widens the cultural chasm between the underclass and mainstream society and thereby frustrates the success of solely economic remedies for joblessness and poverty. The effects of this isolation are reflected in inadequate access to job networks for ghetto residents, lack of involvement in quality schools, lack of exposure to informal mainstream social networks, and the resulting difficulty in obtaining quality employment.²⁸

Given this situation, what Mumford's theory about organic and mechanic values offers is a conceptual framework in which to reconsider the remedies aimed at the problems of the urban underclass. If the isolation of the underclass results from the tendency of a mechanistic

society to value its members solely according to their economic position, then the problem of the underclass may be addressed in two ways: its members must achieve more economic success, and/or the societal standards of valuation that produce that isolation must change. If that isolation has become a barrier to the economic achievement of its members, as has been shown, then that achievement will occur more rapidly when the isolation and its subsequent effects have been removed.

It has been argued that to predicate positive change in ghetto conditions on a deep, structural change in the nation's value system is to condemn the underclass to suffering for the foreseeable future.²⁹ However, some reshaping in values is inevitable over the years, and there is evidence that changes are now occurring which may alter valuation of the underclass for the better.

These changes, evident in postmodernism and multiculturalism, create a context supportive of efforts to attack the social isolation of the underclass that slows its economic achievement. A policy combining subjective (organic) remedies with economic (mechanistic) ones offers the most hope for reducing the isolation of the black urban underclass.

Post Modernism and Multiculturalism

Support for the premise that basic changes in national values are occurring can be drawn from various areas, including the postmodern movement in art and architecture and the pop culture phenomenon known as "multiculturalism."³⁰ The presence of organic themes identified by Mumford in the postmodern and multicultural movements illustrates these movements' anti-mechanistic nature.

Aesthetic fields, such as art and architecture, are currently dominated by the idea of 'postmodernism'. While "[n]o one exactly agrees what is meant by the term,"³¹ postmodernism generally symbolizes a reaction against the strictures of modernism--purity, rationality, simplicity, technocentrism, minimalism, 'the esthetic experience of the machine'³². Postmodernism, frequently associated with poststructuralism, instead emphasizes context, heterogeneity, difference, subjectivity, fragmentation, indeterminacy, human significance, critique of authority, and the use of recognizable symbols to convey multiple dimensions of meaning.³³ This postmodern reaction constitutes a re-emergence of the values of Mumford's Organic principle, and a rejection of the Mechanistic precepts of production, consumption and control, and its aesthetic subtext of Modernism--"the formal aesthetics of corporate capitalism and the bureaucratic state."³⁴

The anti-modern, anti-mechanistic nature of postmodernism can be seen in its criticism of the status quo. Criticism of the mechanistic reduction of art (human expression) to a market commodity can be found in

earlier works from 1950-1970.³⁵ In recent years, the target of criticism has changed, from the market system itself to the society that supports such a system. "The issues five years ago were money and power in a generalized way," says Martha Wilson, director of a Manhattan exhibition space. "The shows this year are more sociological -- how culture works, how values change."³⁶ The emergence of this criticism in art parallels "the increasingly sectarian divisions of society," which are the basis of multiculturalism.³⁷

Multiculturalism attacks the culture of the mainstream (frequently represented in multiculturalist discourse by the "white male") and promotes recognition of communities that have historically been marginalized.³⁸ The multicultural movement rejects the present mechanistic system and represents a move to establish the alterity, or Otherness³⁹, of the white male and thereby de-marginalize groups (like African-Americans, gays and lesbians, and other 'minority' groups) that were formerly marginal. This "othering" is the process by which the dominant group codifies the differences of non-members and separates them⁴⁰ -- by turning it back upon the dominant mainstream culture, "[m]arginality, in effect, becomes the norm".⁴¹ The move to re-establish subjective centrality among marginalized groups undercuts the standards of mechanistic valuation and allows members of those groups, like the black urban underclass, to praise and cherish their own experience as valid and important.

It is the basic precepts of the multicultural movement--that the old societal standards are wrong, that the culture which created them is racist and oppressive--that makes the debate over its acceptance so strident and divisive. Yet the underlying message--the importance of individuals, regardless of economic status or ethnic background--is generally accepted. The relevance of the multicultural movement to discussions of the underclass lies in the implications it holds for the marginalized status of the underclass. True societal acceptance of its message (rather than just lip service) will produce a social climate more conducive to the reintegration of the urban underclass into the rest of society. These might not be the "deep, structural changes" necessary to end the isolation of the underclass, but they may be the first step.

Potential Solutions: Applying Organic Remedies

Whether or not there is a lasting change in the value system of America, the current interest in marginalized groups provides an opportunity to reshape urban policy to make the inner cities more livable. The very title of the winning Clinton/Gore campaign platform, "Putting People First," suggests that programs emphasizing human-oriented, organic solutions in conjunction with traditional

mechanistic economic remedies like enterprise zones and job skills training would be well-received both by the Clinton administration and, perhaps, by the electorate as a whole.

Rather than looking to modernist ideas of large-scale, technologically rational and efficient urban plans backed by austere functionalist architecture, a postmodern/organic urban policy should cultivate a conception of the urban fabric as necessarily fragmented and should, through sensitivity to vernacular tradition, local history, and community wants and needs, find a way to express the "aesthetics of diversity."⁴² (Architect Leon Krier, one of Prince Charles' advisers, suggests a city made up of independent urban quarters, "cities within a city," much like the Greenwich Village described by Jane Jacobs in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.⁴³ It should eschew monofunctional zoning that spatially isolates different uses in favor of mixed-use development that will encourage the integration of diverse uses. More attention should be paid to urban design, an important part of the 'language of the city.'

One particular aspect of urban policy to be considered is a change in public housing from the form of massive high-rise projects to the 'neo-traditional' neighborhood developments enjoying such interest at present. Developments of this sort help promote a 'livable' inner city and further the goals of economic and racial integration as embodied in the Gautreaux program in Chicago.

New Design for the Inner Cities

The *Gautreaux* holding⁴⁴ resulted in a change in Chicago housing policy which attempted to dilute the effects of urban poverty by opening up housing opportunities in the suburbs.⁴⁵ The benefits of increased employment, safety, and personal motivation enjoyed by its participants testify to the importance of programs such as this one.⁴⁶ However, common sense suggests that not all members of the black urban underclass will be relocated to the suburbs, and it is likely that at least some will choose to remain in predominantly black urban areas. Therefore, programs designed to meet the needs of urban African-Americans living in poverty must improve conditions in the inner city.

One opportunity for improvement is the federal public housing program. The construction of housing developments in the inner city offers an opportunity to directly shape the urban environment. Greater attention to designing a livable environment, complemented by a policy of economic redevelopment, can help alleviate the effects of urban racial isolation.

In 1968, the Housing and Urban Development Act placed some restrictions on the construction of high-rise public housing blocks like the Pruitt and Igoe Housing Projects in St. Louis, which were closed in 1970. (The

symbolic end of modernism and the passage to the postmodern has been said to have occurred on July 15, 1972, when the Pruitt-Igde development, a "prize-winning version of Le Corbusier's 'machine for modern living'", was dynamited as an uninhabitable environment.⁴⁷) This was an early attempt to remedy spatial and design problems that were detrimental to living conditions in public housing developments. Continuing action on this front is needed to improve conditions both in public housing and in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Proponents of improved design for public housing are frequently criticized for making aesthetic judgments without empirical bases or for not properly appreciating the prohibitive cost of such features.⁴⁸ However, the importance of design in shaping urban experience and providing a setting for human behavior is supported both by theory and evidence. "If we experience architecture as communication, if, as [Roland] Barthes... insists, 'the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language,' then we ought to pay close attention to what is being said, particularly since we typically absorb such messages in the midst of all the other manifold distractions of urban life."⁴⁹ Studies have shown, furthermore, that design issues have a definite impact in terms of crime reduction, personal safety, and general resident satisfaction.

Crime has been identified in studies reaching back to the 1970's as the most serious concern of the urban poor.⁵⁰ (The Kerner Commission wrote that "[n]othing is more fundamental to the quality of life in any area than the sense of personal security of its residents, and nothing affects this more than crime."⁵¹) In a 1982 study, Canadian researchers found that regardless of the socioeconomic characteristics of the residents, the physical form of housing plays an important role in reducing crime.⁵² Building design was important in encouraging residents to assert control over public areas; in addition, ground-oriented buildings were more likely to produce a sense of possession, and ultimately of responsibility, among the resident community.⁵³

Greater attention to good design can also help reduce the negative perceptions of large-scale developments. While large buildings are frequently considered synonymous with the failure of public housing,⁵⁴ a report to the New York State Urban Development Corporation found building design to be more important than size. Low-rise developments, both large and small, received virtually unanimous positive reactions from residents.⁵⁵

Comments made by residents supported the idea that organic design qualities have a positive impact. They said that the outside appearance of buildings was important because it reflected their "own reputations" and because the better developments looked "more like a home, not just a building."⁵⁶ The list of positive and

negative design qualities selected by residents in a survey reads like a virtual recapitulation of Mumford's organic/mechanic dichotomy. Positive qualities included variation, staggered buildings, and personal entries.⁵⁷ Negative qualities included flat facades, repetition, office-like appearances, stacked apartments, blank fronts, and lack of separation--the very hallmarks of the mechanistic Modern style.⁵⁸

One example of new development which demonstrates the potential of an urban policy blending sensitivity to the needs of the community with a design program incorporating local traditions and human-oriented architecture is the plan for the Randolph Neighborhood in Richmond, Virginia.⁵⁹ Residents of the decaying urban neighborhood pushed the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority to rebuild Randolph as a traditional neighborhood, taking into account the area's history and character, rather than filling the area with clusters of public housing centered around courtyards and surrounded by parking lots. The neighborhood development plan now contains a patchwork of small detached, attached, and townhouse-style houses of generally unified appearance, sporting front porches, bordering "traditional" streets.⁶⁰ In a reverse-Gautreaux twist, the neighborhood blends subsidized housing with houses sold at market rate--often to young black professionals.⁶¹ This is not a case of devastating urban renewal⁶² or gentrification where poor residents are dislocated to make way for a flood of yuppies; it is a model for a return to economic integration in America's cities and for the de-marginalization of the underclass.⁶³

Conclusion

Lewis Mumford's theory of the opposition of the organic and the mechanic principles offers a useful conceptual framework with which to address the plight of the black urban underclass. His theory demonstrates how a society dominated by the mechanic principle values its members according to their contributions and their positions on the culture's hierarchy, and how such valuations can result in the formation of an underclass isolated from the rest of the population. Mumford also suggests that the best society is one that balances the organic and the mechanic, and he believes that to remedy the effects of over-mechanization there must be a greater emphasis on organic themes such as the importance of variety, individuality, and subjective experience.

The associated movements of postmodernism and multiculturalism offer evidence of a return to organic themes and a shift away from mechanistic ones. Such a shift may help alleviate the social isolation of the black urban underclass. The resurgence of organic themes in these movements also offers an opportunity for changes in urban policy that would supplement mechanistic

economic remedies with human-oriented organic ones. Organic remedies are necessary to end the spatial and cultural isolation of the black urban underclass, just as mechanistic remedies are needed for economic improvement.

By pursuing an urban policy that linked economic and racial desegregation of the suburbs with similar reintegration of the inner cities, the spatial isolation of the urban underclass can be reduced. With such a reduction, contact between the urban underclass and the mainstream will increase, which will in turn prevent further widening of the cultural chasm dividing the two groups. Members of the underclass will have increased access to the role models and job networks, cited by Wilson, that promote economic opportunity. Decreases in spatial and social isolation will raise employment and personal wealth, which will continue to fuel the de-marginalization and reintegration of the black urban underclass. Increased human contact and the de-marginalization of poor African-Americans may also help alleviate the fear that has driven middle-class whites out of the cities.

This is not about building nice houses rather than apartment blocks in neighborhoods like Richmond's Randolph. It is about creating a community that will foster a safe, friendly atmosphere and will meet the daily needs of its inhabitants. It is about ending the economic and social conditions that contribute to the continuing isolation and inequality of the black urban underclass. Ultimately, it is about shaping vital, livable cities that promote coexistence and interaction between increasingly diverse segments of the urban American population.CP

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Notes

- ¹ *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* New York: Bantam Books, 1968. (Hereinafter "Report").
- ² John Charles Boger and Michael A. Stegman, *The Kerner Commission in Retrospect: Race and the American City, An Introduction*. Presented at the Weiss Symposium on Urban Livability, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1993. p. 31.
- ³ Paul E. Petersen, "The Urban Underclass and the Poverty Paradox." In *The Urban Underclass*. Eds. Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Petersen. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1991. (hereinafter *The Urban Underclass*.) p.7.
- ⁴ In the current terminology, ghetto areas are those with poverty rates at least 40 percent. William Julius Wilson, "Public Policy Research and the Truly Disadvantaged." In *The Urban Underclass*. The Kerner Commission used the term to refer to "an area within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization, and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation. Report, p. 12, n.1.
- ⁵ Wilson, p. 462.
- ⁶ Petersen, p. 23, n. 24; Boger and Stegman, p. 34, n. 101; Wilson, p. 462.
- ⁷ See generally Christopher Jencks, "Is the Urban Underclass Growing?" In *The Urban Underclass*; Petersen; Wilson.
- ⁸ Petersen, pp. 9-16.
- ⁹ "Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto. . . The culture of poverty that results from unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto." Report, p.14.
- ¹⁰ Harold Woman, "The Reagan Urban Policy and Its Impacts," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* No.3, vol.21, p.315; *The President's National Urban Policy Report*, p.1-6, U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research; Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, *Putting People First: How We Can All Change America*. New York: Times Books, 1992. pp.52-62.
- ¹¹ J. David Greenstone, "Culture, Rationality and the Underclass." *The Urban Underclass*. p. 403. "When there's a demand for participation of the black underclass in the labor force, most of the so-called problems people talk about will evaporate in a generation," says John McKnight, an urban-research professor at Northwestern University."--Nicholas Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass I." *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1986, p. 34. Lemaan attributes the predominance of economic arguments on both sides of the ideological fence to conservative arguments on economic "incentives to fail" and liberal attempts to avoid the syndrome of "blaming the victim", often equated with support for the "culture of poverty" hypothesis.
- ¹² See generally Richard B. Freeman, "Employment and Earnings of Disadvantaged Young Men in a Labor Shortage Economy." *The Urban Underclass*. p. 103; Paul Osterman, "Gains from Growth? The Impact of Full Employment on Poverty in Boston." *The Urban Underclass*. p.122.
- ¹³ See Jonathan Crane, "Effects of Neighborhoods on Dropping Out of School and Teenage Childbearing," pp.299-320; Susan Mayer, "How Much Does a High School's Racial and Socioeconomic Mix Affect Graduation and Teenage Fertility Rates?" pp.321-341; James E. Rosenbaum and Susan J. Popkin, "Employment and Earnings of Low-Income Blacks Who Move to Middle-Class Suburbs," pp.342-356; Elijah Anderson, "Neighborhood Effects on Teenage Pregnancy," pp.375-398; Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn M. Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But . . .': The Meaning of Race for Employers," pp.203-234. All in *The Urban Underclass*.
- ¹⁴ Wilson, pp.463, 465-466.
- ¹⁵ See generally Thomas P. Hughes and Agatha C. Hughes, *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- ¹⁶ Leo Marx, "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism." *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*. Eds. Thomas Hughes and Agatha Hughes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. p. 168.
- ¹⁷ Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934. p. 327.
- ¹⁸ *Technics and Civilization*, p. 281.
- ¹⁹ Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine I: Technics and Human Development*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967.
- ²⁰ Thomas Hughes and Agatha Hughes, "Mumford's Modern World." *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual*. p.10.
- ²¹ *The Myth of the Machine I: Technics and Human Development*, p. 191. Mumford alludes to John Maynard Keynes' notion of "Pyramid Building" as a device to absorb surplus labor in affluent societies adverse to economic equalization and compares it to the NASA space program (p. 205).
- ²² Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine II: The Pentagon of Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970. p. 430.
- ²³ *The Myth of the Machine I*, p. 213.
- ²⁴ Report, p.204. The Report also recognizes the influence of such organic factors as frustrated hopes, the degrading effects of discrimination and segregation, and the frustrations of powerlessness. pp.203-205.
- ²⁵ Wilson, p.462.
- ²⁶ See generally Erol Ricketts, "The Underclass: Causes and Respo-

- neses." *The Metropolis in Black and White*. Eds. G. Galster and E. Hill. 1992; Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass I," *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1986; Petersen.
- 27 Wilson, p. 462; Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn M. Neckerman, "We'd Love to Hire Them, But...": The Meaning of Race for Employers." *The Urban Underclass*; Report, p. 203; Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass II," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1986.
- 28 Wilson, p.462; Kirschenman and Neckerman, pp. 207-231.
- 29 Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass II," pp. 58-59.
- 30 Those who consider evidence of this sort to be too "soft" might consider Mumford's own question: "By what inept logic must we bow to our creation if it be a machine, and spurn it as 'unreal' if it happens to be a painting or a poem? The machine is just as much a creature of thought as a poem: the poem is as much a fact of reality as the machine." *Technics and Civilization*, p. 318. Art, literature, architecture, and other aesthetic fields may be seen as a sort of 'leading indicator' of more general cultural change.
- 31 David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.7.
- 32 *Technics and Civilization*, p. 333; Harvey, p. 9. It was the modernist architect Le Corbusier who promoted the slogan, "A house is a machine for modern living." Judy Jones and William Wilson, *An Incomplete Education*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1987. p. 100.
- 33 Harvey, pp. 9. 49.
- 34 Harvey, p. 62.
- 35 For instance, Ad Reinhardt's "Portend of the Artist as a Yhung Mandala" (1956), or Robert Smithson's "Spiral Jetty" (1970). (Smithson's piece has further significance through its use of the spiral, cited by Mumford and Frank Lloyd Wright as a classic symbol of organicism, to criticize a mechanistic system which assigns cash values to human experiences.) But see Harvey, p. 62 (on the 'commodification' of postmodern artists).
- 36 Robin Cembalest, "The We Decade," *ARTNews*, Sept. 1992, pp.62-71
- 37 Charles Newman, *The Post-Modern Aura*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1985. p.9.
- 38 See Cembalest, pp. 62-71.
- 39 Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1952. pp. xxii-xxxv
- 40 Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," *Race, Writing, and Difference*. Ed. by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp.138-162
- 41 John Leo, "Targets in a cultural war," *The Raleigh News and Observer*, March 16, 1993, p. A-11.
- 42 Harvey, pp.66, 75.
- 43 Jacobs proposed, among other things, mixed-use development based on shorter block sizes as a catalyst for increased interaction and diversity. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961. pp.153-186.
- 44 *Hillv. Gautreaux*, 425 U.S. 284 (1976), in which the Supreme Court affirmed the power of a district judge to order the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development to take action outside the Chicago city limits to remedy discriminatory site selection for public housing within the city.
- 45 See generally Rosenbaum and Popkin, p.342.
- 46 Rosenbaum and Popkin, p.342.
- 47 Harvey, p. 39.
- 48 "[W]e frequently find housing officials concerned only with dwelling mix and construction speed, government agencies concerned only with costs per dwelling and compliance with technical standards. . . ." Clare Cooper Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian, *Housing As If People Mattered*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986. p.4
- 49 Harvey, p.67 (citing Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 1975)
- 50 See Rabushka and Wessert, *Caseworkers or Police?: How Tenants See Public Housing*, 1977, p.48.
- 51 Report p. 266.
- 52 Ethan Phillips and Howard Andrews, *Residential Satisfaction and the Neighborhood: Perceptions of Young Adolescents in Public Housing*, Child in the City Report No. 15, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1982, p.31.
- 53 Phillips and Andrews, p.31. See also Eve Kahn, "New Parks for Mean Streets," *Landscape Architecture*, January 1993, pp.66-69 (on the importance of community responsibility in the design of safe urban parks); Marcus and Sarkissian, (on the impact of various design elements).
- 54 See Lemaan, "The Origins of the Underclass II," p.63.
- 55 Franklin D. Becker, *Design for Living: The Residents' View of Multi-Family Housing*, Final Report to the New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1974. p.35.
- 56 Becker, p.67
- 57 Positive organic design elements like these may be incorporated into development without the imposition of a single homogeneous, anti-vernacular 'style'.
- 58 Becker, pp. 68(a) - (c).
- 59 See Vernon Mays, "Neighborhoods by Design," *Progressive Architecture*, June 1992, pp.92-95.
- 60 The requirement of houses having front porches has also been instituted in Seaside, the upscale neo-traditional development in Florida sometimes called "the most celebrated American new town of the decade." The developer of Seaside concluded that front porches encourage neighborly chatting and cooperation. Philip Langdon, "A Good Place to Live," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1988, p.42
- 61 Mays, pp. 93-5.
- 62 See Jacobs, pp.4-5.
- 63 Programs like this one have the potential to overcome many of the factors cited by William Julius Wilson as consequences of the isolation of the black urban underclass, such as inadequate access to job and social networks, the absence of role models, and the unavailability of suitable marriage partners. Wilson, pp. 462-3.